

RE-EVALUATING HORTON'S INTELLECTUALIST THEORY OF RELIGIOUS CHANGE IN IGBO LAND

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DOI: [10.13140/RG.2.2.10452.14720](https://doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.2.10452.14720)

Abstract

Religious change is ongoing phenomenon in any human society, and it varies from society to society. There are many reasons or factors that are responsible for religious change in any society or culture. And its interpretation by different models differs greatly depending on the theory employed to investigate the nature of change. Factors of religious change keep changing with time, and there is no single factor that can be seen that is responsible for religious change. Horton's intellectualist theory of religious change focuses more on the development of the traditional African cosmology in response to the world cosmology precipitated by the two world religions (Christianity and Islam). Through this way, the features of traditional cosmology keeps crumbling in the face of world religions and non religious factors, hence religious change from traditional religion to Christianity or Islam. Religious change has taken different dimension in this age of scientific discoveries. Missionaries are not seen in great numbers as it used to be but religious change keeps taking place rapidly. Intellectualist theory of Horton forms as a base for explanation of religious change not on efforts of missionaries or other religious factors.

Keywords: Horton, Intellectualist Theory, Religious Change, Igbo Land

Introduction

With the coming of the Christian and Islamic religions into Africa and Igbo land, Africa as a whole started passing through a birth of a new religion to their stable traditional society. The Igbo traditional religion experienced or went through certain difficult stages or changes before it is being accepted as one of the religions of the world. Idowu (1976) holds that even now, there are organs of her body which are under torture and cruel assault. Hence, the battle to entirely change one religion into another religion began by all sorts of ways. The study and explanation of traditional religion was done by foreigners and different writers especially as it concerns the dimension of religious change.

The state of affairs in which Africa or Igbo land was found in the previous years also helped to necessitate the need for change of religious affiliation. This is because religion has been a sole determinant of how things are done in Africa.

The African continent in general was not seen initially by the foreigners or Europeans as people capable of possessing culture or religion. Hence, the description of African Traditional Religion (ATR) with all sorts of names like juju, primitive, paganism, idolatry, savage and so on can be seen in the scholarly works of Idowu (1976), Boas (1961), Guarcoopome (1987), Kanu (2015), Talbot (1926).

In contrary, later years visitors to African world found precious things which they considered helpful and needful for life. But they did not see the capability of Africans having or worshipping a living God like them. Africans in their own struggle to free themselves, from the slavery and mental backwardness given to them by these strangers (Europeans) started imitating and taking the religion of the White people in exchange as theirs. With this, change of religion occurred from different perspectives. The walls of traditional religion started crumbling as a fast moving object because it is being affected by different factors both religious and non religious factors. So the need to interpret the cause and how of religious change in different parts of the world and Africa emerged. How it started or how it happened in Africa (Igbo land) is the thrust of this paper. The intellectualist theory by Horton will be used to analyze the situation of religious change in Igbo land. The analysis will help us to know how it shaped the issue of religion in Igbo society. The analysis also will account for the type of conversion that is taking place in Igbo land. This will help us in a way to understand the religiosity or non religiosity of the Igbo people. In this paper, African Traditional Religion (ATR) by extension also refers to Igbo Traditional Religion (ITR).

The Intellectualist Theory of Horton

Robin Horton is an English social anthropologist and philosopher, with his experience in Africa for more than four decades, he came up with an intellectualist theory as model in studying and interpreting religious change in Africa and Nigeria in particular. As a researcher on African indigenous religion, he came up with the intellectualist approach which for him explains the religious change that took place in Africa using Aladura in Western part of Nigeria as a case study. The intellectualist theory shows or reflects an evolutionary trend or motifs, since the theory assumes that conversion entails a movement from microcosm to macrocosm, based on active cognitive reasoning as we are going to see later. According to Metuh (1987), analyzing the above issue said:

He (Horton) took as his point of departure Peel's book,
Aladura: an intellectualist explanation of the Aladura

independent church movement as an attempt to reinterpret and adapt traditional Yoruba cosmology to explain, predict and control events in a new, unfamiliar and changed social situation resulting from the modernization process. (p. 13).

Horton (1971) gave basis for intellectual approach used in studying religious change in Nigeria. For him, it is well suited to the situation with which he is concerned- a situation in which the data show the founders of a religious movement actually grappling with the intellectual challenge of a rapidly changing social scene. In socio-political organization, there are variations from town to town and multiplicity of principles within any given town. In the area of religion, there are loose articulations of many different cults- a state of affair which encourages syncretism and the absorption of new cults. Again, the tenuousness of relations between religion and social organization favours religious innovation, since a change in religious ideas does not necessarily threaten the already established social order. This basis above and other factors informed his use of intellectual approach to the study of religious change in Africa.

With the coming of the Europeans in the twentieth century, they came to be seen as symbols of power, and Christianity itself came to be seen as a part of a larger order, comprising western education, colonial administration, commerce and industry, with which everyone started to reckon as one with great force and power. The advents of Europeans and Christianity created a much more favourable climate for conversion. Yoruba congregations resented the European monopoly of church authority and in every other thing. This led to their break away from mission church to African independent church which includes Aladura churches which is the main subject of Peel's book.

Summarily, Horton (1971) concluded from his investigation that:

Traditional Yoruba cults were only loosely articulated with each other and with the social organisation, and that they were concerned above all with easy conditions of life in this world. The looseness of integration of their cults, and the fact that these cults were not seen as underpinning the social status quo, made it particularly easy for Yorubas to accept the new cult of Christianity; for in the circumstances, they saw it as a threat neither to the existing religious set up nor to the

existing pattern of social organization. True, the insistence of Christianity on displacing all other cults delayed its absorption into the Yoruba culture, but when a period of rapid social change obliterated many of the fields of experience with which the traditional cults concerned themselves, this obstacle was largely removed. However, because Yorubas saw religion as an essentially this-worldly instrument, the version of Christianity they came to accept also a this-worldly one. As such, it proves incompatible with each other- worldliness of the missionary churches, and hence demanded the independent institutional framework which found its realization in the Aladura sects. (p. 92-93).

For Horton, studying of Yoruba traditional religion (Aladura) is a landmark in the studying of African religions. For Aladura churches have the capacity to combine the attributes of change from primitive to world religions. Horton (1971) in his study of religious change in Africa has shown that “intellectualism is in fact the only real starter in this field” (p. 94). For him, it is the only approach capable of answering the many questions surrounding the religious change in Africa, like: why should traditional African cultures make the uses of concepts referring to entities with the peculiar properties attributed to spiritual beings?

Though earlier than now, a number of philosophers and philosophically minded scholars have been calling for a return to the intellectualist approach to the study of traditional religious beliefs. For in its central theme, that is Aladura, one finds a people struggling to adapt its stock of theoretical concepts to the explanation, prediction, and control of events in a new and unfamiliar social situation. Through the study of Yoruba traditional religious system, Horton was able to contrast the traditional religion which concerned itself with providing a theory of the space-time world and its working, with modern western Christianity which carefully eschews any such concern. For most African traditional religions have a dual nature. According to Horton (1971) in the explanation of its dual nature argued that:

In the first place, its gods are theoretical entities, and their rituals a set of practices designed to apply theory to the control of the world. Secondly, the gods are people, and their rituals an extension to the field of purely human social relationships. African Christianity inherits a good measure of this dual nature from its traditional predecessor. (p. 95).

From what we have seen so far, Horton agreed that he has drawn heartily from Peel's intellectualist insight in explaining religious change in Nigeria and Africa in general, and how it can be developed further. He clearly showed that his work was intended to complement rather than to refute.

Delving into the matter of typical Yoruba or African cosmology, Horton (1971) avers that:

The core of this cosmology is a system of ideas about unobservable personal beings whose activities are alleged to underpin the events of ordinary, everyday world. Applied to this world, the system enables its users to see identities of process underlying apparent diversity, and to chart casual regularities underlying apparent anomaly. In short, it provides an impressive instrument for explanation, prediction, and control. (pp. 100-101).

From the above cosmological system formed by Horton, two tiered arrangement of unobservable realities are seen. In the first tier, Horton called them the lesser spirits which are mainly concerned with the affairs of the local community and its environment (the Microcosm), while in the second tier he called it Supreme Being concerned with the world as a whole (the Macrocosm). This in a way corresponds with the ideas of some scholars about the structure of the African universe, the existence of two worlds-the visible and invisible, while some scholars opined to be three tiers in structure (Edeh 1983, Abanuka 1994, Ijiomah 2005, Mbaegbu 2012, Ekwealor 1990, Kanu 2015). Though Oguejiofor (1996) and Ekwunife (2012) contested the idea of introducing a Supreme Being in Africa is an obvious attempt to impose a foreign category on African world view.

Microcosm is part of the macrocosm. Horton (1971) sees Supreme Being as the ultimate controller and existential ground of the lesser spirits. The religious situation of Africans is characterized by a rich proliferation of ideas about the lesser spirits and their modes of action. Most of them are thought to underpin and sanction human morality. There are wealth of techniques for approaching and manipulating them to maintain a cosmic balance in the lives of the people. The attributes or ideas about Supreme Being developed by Horton tend to be thinner and vaguer. Few events are directly attributed to him. He seldom has a direct concern with human morality, techniques for approaching Him are poorly developed.

This view of Horton is in congruous with the view of most scholars like Westerman (1935) that African God is a *deus incertus* and a *deus remotus*, which Uchendu (1965) also described as the withdrawal of the high God, O'Connell (cited by Kanu 2015) sees it as a deity with no temples and no shrines. Though most authors as of today are contesting the above stand. Kanu (2015) argues that:

He is part and parcel of the Africans' daily life, and his care and protection is daily felt. God in Africa is part of the African's daily speech, in proverbs and wise sayings. And this consciousness of the divine is what makes the African take with him his religion wherever he goes: into politics, business, and social life. (pp. 101-102).

Horton (1971) uses his view of the two tiers of the cosmology to explain the situations of pre-modern African. Most events affecting the life of the individual or people occur within the microcosm of the local community, and that this microcosm is to a considerable extent insulated from the macrocosm of the wider world. This simply means that most significant social interaction, moral rules, religious and economic activities occur within the microcosmic sphere rather than within the macrocosmic sphere. For lesser spirits within the microcosm are credited with or responsible for most events of human beings, while supreme being in the macrocosm has no direct association with morality and will seldom be approached by human beings.

With the above sketch of traditional cosmology, Horton tried to develop or suggest a thought experiment of predicting how traditional religious ideas will respond to certain changes in their environment. Horton (1971) posited that:

The essence of the experiment is that we confront the traditional cosmology with an imaginary set of changes, and use our model of its working to predict its response. The changes in question are imaginary rather than actual because they involve certain gross subtractions from historical reality. Thus they involve the introduction of various features of the modern situation, minus Islam and Christianity. They involve the massive development of commerce and of nation states, without the concomitant influx of Islamic and Christian proselytizers. (p. 102).

The outcome of this experiment would be dramatic improvements and developments in communications, economic, social and political areas of society

that override the boundaries between the various microcosms. The effects of those developments would lure a great many people away from their microcosms and set them down in a wider world. This will definitely to a great extent, weaken the boundaries of microcosm which were insulated formerly from the wider world.

From the analysis of Horton's thought experiment, he predicted some changes which will affect the traditional cosmology. Firstly, as an explanatory system, traditional religious thought has an adaptive potential which it used to face the challenges emanating from social change, this adaptive potential helps to remold and develop its cosmological boundaries until it attains its pristine level of explanatory coverage. The second flows from the first, with its adaptive potential, it develops techniques to relate with the Supreme Being, the underpinner of macrocosm. The relevance of the lesser spirits will be drastically reduced, hence the common saying that the gods are on retreat. The gods are not on retreat, but they are merely remolding and redeveloping their boundaries for relevance in the affairs of men. Thirdly, with people now in the wider social life beyond the confines of various microcosm, there arises need to develop a moral code for the governance of this wider life. Since Supreme Being is the arbiter of everything that transcends the boundaries of the microcosm. Fourthly, it is noticed that in the traditional cosmology there are bound to be ritual changes. This is because relations between man and spirits and relations between man and Supreme Being are seen as different in kind. Horton concluded the fifth one by assuming that developments seen above are matters of degree rather than kind. Hence there is an infinite number of potential positions between traditional religious life and the full-blooded monolithic cult of Supreme Being.

Due to changes and developments in the cosmological boundaries, there bound to be cosmological adjustment by the people in the community. Every traditional cosmology has its philosophers (people), who interpret the system as a whole and its activities. They are found among the diviners, the cult priests, even among ordinary laymen. The community relies on them for exposition of the cosmology in its relation to everyday events, and they play a crucial part in transmitting it from one generation to another. Horton asserts that the cosmological and ritual changes that occur are not the efforts of the two world religions but a response of the traditional cosmology to other features of the modern situations. Rather, it would appear that the beliefs and practices of the so called world religions are only accepted where they happen to coincide with responses of the traditional cosmology to other non-missionary factors of the modern situation. Horton (1971) reduces the Islam and Christianity to the role of

catalysts, that is stimulators and accelerators of changes which were in their way anyway. While Islam accepted the function of catalyst, not being rigid about the acceptance of its doctrine, Christianity on the other hand has never been content to play the role of catalyst. It has been rigid in its insistence on the total acceptance of its official doctrines by individuals. This accounts or results in the proliferation of dissenting breakaway sects (independent churches). Horton concluded that the traditional African cosmology still has its potential limits to reach through expansion and development. And that religion in Africa just like in the west will be a way of communion, not as a system of explanation, prediction and control.

The Effects of Horton's Intellectualist Theory on Religious Change in Igbo Land

The interpretation of religious change in Igbo land and Africa in general is very important in this age of globalization. This helps in so many ways, especially in situating the emerging facts or situations that were not there at the earliest days. Again, comparing these new facts with the old situations found in African or Igbo traditional religion will give a base for re-interpretation, better analysis, hence possible conclusion in the sense of real understanding the type of change or reason for religious change that is taking place now in Igbo land. Horton's analysis has thrown up a number of important points to be noted and some points to be re-evaluated. According to Nnoruga (2019):

Horton has to be applauded and appreciated for elevating African traditional religion with the other world religions and even comparing it with them, unlike some scholars or researchers who kept relegating African traditional religion to background as irrational and spiritually dark religion. Finally, the incorporation of African traditional religion into a larger macrocosm as most researchers believe is the persuasive factor for conversion to world religions. (p. 24).

Horton's thought pattern or hypothesis that is explanation, prediction, and control of space-time events used in explaining Yoruba traditional cosmology has cast African traditional religion to the realm of world intellectual parlance. Hence, there is the constant call by social scientists for a return to the intellectualist approach to the systems of traditional religious belief. Intellectualist approach is the only approach capable of answering many questions bordering on the religious change whose its object and subject deals with the unknown. Horton tried to avoid the error of universal applicability with

the use of intellectualist approach rather he was more concerned with a situation of intellectual challenge arising from rapid social change found within the Yoruba cosmology.

With the intellectualist approach, Horton showcased variations and multiplicity of principles found in different towns with regard to socio-political organization. In religion, he stressed the loose articulation of many different cults, a situation which encourages syncretism and absorption of new cults found in every religious society today. The above situation shows the relation between religion and social organization, a situation which favours religious innovation, since a change in religious ideas does not threaten the established social order most times (Horton, 1971). In the study of Aladura churches, Horton discovered the attribute of change in traditional or primitive religion. This religious adaptation found in African traditional religion accounts for its change or conversion to world religions. This religious adaptation also accounts for African Christianity inheriting a good measure of the dual nature from its traditional predecessor.

Moving away from the merits of Horton's intellectual approach to religious change in Africa, one immediately encounters a disturbing claim by Horton that the study of Aladura church is a landmark in the study of African religions. One will immediately ask Can Aladura church represent the '*kpim*' of religious practices in Africa with so many countries and tribes within each country? Is Aladura church conglomerate of all the religious practices found within Africa? We know that Aladura is practiced in Yoruba land and Yoruba is only but one tribe in Nigeria and we have many tribes in Nigeria, yes we may talk of three major tribes that it can be seen but not for all tribes. This is quite different from Ifeka-Moller (1974) who made her research on religious change among the Eastern people of Nigeria.

Most of the sociologists interested in religious change has illustrated the importance of socio-structural factors in the emergence of new religions, hence they argued against intellectualist approach that since religion is above all a system of ideas and beliefs about the cosmos, we must explain innovation of cultic practice as resulting from people's attempts to make intellectual sense of new and old thought systems (Ifeka-moller, 1974).

Horton (1971) claimed that if we look at the actual story of Islam and Christianity in Africa, we see that it is of highly conditional and selective acceptance. This led him to believe that the beliefs and practices of the so called world religions are only accepted where they happen to coincide with responses of the traditional

cosmology to other non-missionary factors of the modern situation. The above issue among other things reduces the two world religions to the role of catalysts. In today's religious change, one can vividly say that they are not catalysts to religious change but a foreign or strange culture that dominated already existing culture (traditional culture) to a great extent.

Ifeka-moller (1974) argued against Horton's monolatric innovations and its occurrence, when she observed that:

Logically, Horton's argument is open to the charge of tautology. For he is unable to show that these alleged monolatric innovations would have occurred without the presence of missionaries.... Thus, Horton's argument at this point is tendentious and his research circular. If our scanty knowledge of what happened to people under Christianity is the only evidence he has for his monolatric hypothesis. (p. 59).

Again, Horton's thought experiment is question begging, when he claimed that monolatric innovations took place because the Supreme Being had adaptive potentials (Horton, 1971). Countering the above view, Ifeka-moller (1974) argued that:

Nothing is explained by equating survival with 'adaptive potential'. It would have been more to the fact if Horton had tested this assumption by investigating the possibility that different communities reacted in different ways to colonial culture and to the Christian faith, developing variable belief systems. Comparative historical evidence suggests that not all communities move towards monolatry when they are pulled into a world of ever enlarging dimensions. (p. 59).

Moreover, the issue of monotheism and polytheism is a problem in African traditional religion. It is still an ongoing debate, though many scholars tend to be tending towards monotheism. So for Horton to expressly claim that collapse in microcosm leads to the monolatric form of religion in Africa or Igbo land is not authentic or plausible. While Ekwunife (2012) observed that the controversies over the worship of Supreme Being or monotheism brought in through the European or Muslim missionaries brought the problem of new perception, interpretation and practical applications in the worship of God in African or Igbo traditional religion.

Fisher (cited by Metuh, 1987) observed that:

There is no sound historical reason for expecting that adherents of African traditional faiths will behave as Horton's thought experiment suggests- that they can only interpret changes in their society in a particular way, that they necessarily evolve a monotheistic moral code for the wider world. (p. 15).

Again, Fisher cited many cases of a number of African societies which were exposed to the macrocosm and which did not develop monolatric cults by themselves without Christianity or Islam (Metuh, 1987). Going further Metuh observed that:

It is fallacious to argue from the prediction of how traditional world views would react to modernization in the event of an encounter (hypothetically framed), and then conclude that it did in fact react that way in all historical encounters. This sort of infallible prediction would be more understandable if claimed for physical and chemical compounds rather than for human thought and behavioural patterns in variable historical contexts. (p. 15).

From the above, it is clear that there bound to be different reactions or results in the case of traditional world views reacting in the face of encounter with modernization or globalization. The result of encounter can never be the same with different groups of individuals or villages. Most of the variations in culture or customs stem from the reaction or encounter groups of people or villages have towards modernization.

Horton's Intellectualist Theory in the Religious Traditional Practices in Igbo Land

Innovations introduced by two world religions in Igbo land, especially Christianity, came with some changes in the lives of Igbo people. Hence the reaction from many quarters, with Achebe (1958) tilting one of his scholarly works "Things fall apart". Some quarters project the image that the gods are on retreat due to innovations introduced in the traditional world views, which Horton (1971) regarded as microcosm. While some others believed that the gods did not retreat. They were and are very much around and active in the traditional world with the support and approval of the Supreme Being. Certainly

no religion or culture remains the same with the coming of the new one. There is bound to be change, rejection or assimilation to some extent, but at the end of the day one culture or religion has to be dominant.

Horton's analysis brought in the issue of Supreme Being in Igbo traditional religion. One is not saying that it was not there before, but to some extent it was latent or assumed. The African/ Igbo traditional religion, according to Horton, has been operating on microcosmic world view with their gods in charge of their daily activities. But with the macrocosmic world view where the Supreme God is in charge of everything, the Igbo or African world view started adapting, in a bid to survive the new situation. With the invasion or introduction of the Supreme Being in African traditional religion by European/American and Muslim missionaries, the problem of new perception, interpretation and practical applications of inherited Supreme Being became so complicated that their effects affected the entire Igbo social and religious institutions (Ekwunife, 2012). This further degenerated into calling or naming African Gods different names. According to Ekwunife (2012):

Unable to comprehend the new situation and with their foreign cultural backgrounds and bases, the missionaries began to name the ultimate of African traditional religion as High God, idol, fetish god, remote god, lazy god and so on. The net result was that these barrages of names have no relevance to the original ultimate African names which reflect their existential experiences of this ultimate in their various sub-cultural locations. (p. 8).

Again, the African scholars are even divided among themselves on the above issue of Supreme Being in Igbo or African traditional religions. Ekwunife maintained that lots of academic blood baths have been poured into this debate without resolutions. The protagonists group maintained that the idea and worship of Supreme Being are part and parcel of African or Igbo traditional life. It is not inherited from anywhere or from anybody. The antagonists group objected the stand or claims of the protagonists. Antagonists group believed that it is introduced into our religion, that it was not original to Igbo or Africans. Its origin is from the Christian/Islamic religions. The antagonists, according to Ekwunife (2012) argued that "the concept of the Supreme Being is a missionary invention into Africa. The missionaries introduced it and imposed it on African Traditionalists who appropriated it and made it their own in modern times" (p. 9).

This smuggling in of “Supreme Being” in the religious culture is attempt by the two world religions to differentiate their religion from African (Igbo) traditional religion, for they believed that the Christian/Islamic supreme God cannot enjoy the same status as God with the primitive traditionalists’ god. Hence till today, the African/Igbo traditional religious culture is degenerated to the lowest rung of evolutionary development.

The religious change found in Igbo land today lays more emphasis on promoting culture, values that are against maintaining human life, enhancement and its promotion. Instead of promoting better human living among the people, it promotes certain cultures or values that demote human life. Hence the religious change did not bring or offer much value befitting the living but inclined more for caring or keeping of culture that degenerate good human life. This accounts why the carrying out or celebration of cultural ceremonies are very costly in Igbo land. The marriage rite in Igbo land today is very costly, hence many young people shy away from marriage when they are ripe or supposed to be married. The list of items to be procured by the male counterpart is highly much and unnecessary. Again, Ozo title in Igbo land is very costly, more than what it used to be in the olden days. The rich are known now to be taking Ozo title rather than upright aged men. In the burial ceremony, the emphasis is laid more on the things required for the burial in giving the dead befitting burial, this led to many burial rites of dead ones not being performed or postponed for years. Again this philosophy of befitting burial becomes more important than befitting living. Hence, Ezeokafor (2018) pointed out the ugly situation thus:

My reflection was specifically motivated by the lavishness and extravagance noticed among our people at funerals... I called our people back to the need to value such extravagance for what it was- unnecessary waste that neither helped the dead nor the surviving relatives; but instead, in many instances, impoverished and pauperized them, such that some who were rich before funeral ceremonies of their relatives became indigent afterwards. (p. viii).

The above extravagance, Ejiofor (2002) called funeral pomp in which Igbo people try to demonstrate the passing away of a powerful and prosperous man, and to announce his arrival to take his place among the ancestors. The extravagance was so much that the government of Anambra state and other states in Igbo land started to legislate on the laws regarding the burial rites.

Carefully going through the analysis of Horton, with his introduction of Supreme Being, the underpinner of macrocosm, many structures and valued practices in the microcosm were lost. This is why Nwadinigwe (1999) believed that most of the artifacts were lost and stolen by the foreigners that persuaded us to disregard them. Through this way, our religion and culture were seen as primitive which needed to be weeded out and thrown away.

Ekwuru (1999) remarked that this process of cultural and religious deconstruction of African or Igbo people is simply a political, cultural and religious victory over Africa in general. This victory also involves ideological conquest that led Igbo man to see anything European as something good which must be emulated. This accounts why the call for cultural revival in Igbo land, even to the extent of reviving the Igbo language becomes a hard task. Horton's analysis brings in, the desire to imbibe the marks of higher, superior culture or religion in the consciousness of Igbo people.

Conclusion

Horton's intellectualist explanation to the phenomenon of religious change in Africa or Igbo land provoked or brought us a lot of insights. He tries to explain the conversion which took place in African (Igbo) traditional religion to Christian religion. The African cosmology in a bid to respond to the features of the modern situation underwent certain changes. Horton strongly believed that the pre-modern African, by extension Igbo life, was lived out in the microcosm of village community.

With the introduction of Horton's thought pattern, the boundaries of the microcosm started weakening and eventually collapsed. The conversion to world religion for Horton is not based on missionaries' activities but more on the traditional religion trying to adapt to the new situation it found itself. The desire to retain their own belief rather than yielding to the activities of the missionaries resulted in the founding of many Afro-Christian churches. This also explains the reason for so many churches which combines the values of Africans and other world religions. This ideological commitment was seen as a welcome development as it helps to continue to reshape the religious nature of the Africans without throwing away what is important in the culture of traditional people.

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